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Establishing the New Political Thinking

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[Article by Vilen Nikolayevich Ivanov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and leader at the Center for the Study of Sociopolitical Processes at the Institute for Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He is a permanent contributor to our journal]

[Text] To an ever-greater degree the principles and conclusions of the new political thinking are becoming an inseparable element in the political and spiritual life of the Soviet people and these reflect the common human need for survival, a nonviolent world, collaboration and good neighborliness and the joint solving of urgent global problems of civilization. In the process of a growing awareness by the population of various nations, including our own, of the real threat to the existence of our planet (military and ecological above all), changes are inevitably occurring in group, national and class interests, in social psychology and in public opinion. The actual conduct of people is also changing under their impact. The masses of people to an ever-greater degree are becoming the proponents of new political thinking. Their activeness and degree of actual impact on international relations depend largely upon how completely and profoundly they have assimilated and adopted the basic ideas and provisions of the new thinking.

The confirmation of this thinking in the mass mind occurs not spontaneously but largely under the impact of the mass information media. Like any social innovation, the new thinking is being confirmed not without difficulties and contradictions and an understanding of these using the means of sociology can assist in this process.

The new political thinking in its essence is directed at the age-old moral categories which define relations among people: good—evil, trust—hostility, friend—enemy, lie—truth, sincerity—hypocrisy and so forth. But at the same time, it also considers the fact that the simple standards of morality which define relations between people have still not become the basic governors of interstate relations, although the need for this has risen significantly in the modern era. This is based upon the threat which has become a real one in our times of the destruction of civilization primarily by military means.

The permanent arms race, including nuclear arms, the military conflicts and the threat of a new world war have led to the militarizing of thinking and to the fanning of fear and mistrust between states and peoples. Under these conditions, the program proposed by the Soviet Union for building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world and the practical steps which followed to implement this marked the beginning to the new political thinking and

new views of the possible relations between states, in excluding confrontation, violence and the dictating of terms.

A characteristic feature of the new political thinking is the fact that its active force is not only the peace-loving states and the pacific public organizations but also mass movements and all persons of goodwill who realize the dangers threatening mankind and the necessity of joining efforts to solve the global problems involved in the survival of civilization. In order to become a real force in the human community, the new political thinking should capture the masses. This is a common task for all countries, including our own.

The assimilating of new approaches and views of international relations based upon a recognition of the need for a balancing of interests and respect, the choice of values and priorities in the way of life of other peoples presupposes the abandonment of what has long settled in the mass mind in the form of persistent notions and stereotypes during the long years of the Cold War. Very important in this context is an understanding of the limited nature and dogmatism of the theoretical views which fostered such notions by establishing the idea of the inevitable confrontation between East and West and between states belonging to different social systems. Such theoretical ideas reinforced in the mass mind mistrust and hostility for the capitalist nations and a rejection of everything coming from there. Such a limited, cardboard approach formed in the minds of the Soviet people an image of the enemy, it impeded an objective view of the in no way uniform but rather complex and contradictory situation on the international scene and gave rise to mistrust as to the possibility of positive changes in the relations of the USSR with the capitalist countries and particularly with the United States.

Sociological research carried out over a number of years in various regions of the country in the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s has constantly shown that the United States is perceived in the mass mind as our main opponent, as the main guilty party of creating tension in the international situation, the real or potential aggressor. (It must be pointed out that there were objective grounds for this including the Vietnamese War, the occupation of Grenada, the support for the Contras in Nicaragua, the enormous military outlays and so forth.) However, even during these years the Soviet people did not identify the American people with the ruling upper clique or with the next "presidential suite." This was also confirmed by the research results. Thus, the research carried out within the Project International Barometer of Peace showed that to the question "How do you consider the American people?" in eight out of ten instances the Soviet people voiced a positive attitude. (Not more than 3 percent was negative.)

The broadening contacts in various areas and the different forms of people's diplomacy create new prerequisites for mutual respect and trust. The new thinking

confirms the necessity of a political dialogue, a desire to understand and consider the positions of other countries, including those in a different social system, the abandoning of the presumption of our own infallibility and the ability to recognize our own shortcomings and mistakes. Its affirmation should lead to a situation where the concepts characterizing the relations in the time of the Cold War (and at times the current ones) such as antagonism, hostility and confrontation are replaced by ones such as competition, rivalry, emulation which reflect the most promising and fruitful trends in relations between countries belonging to different systems. Its affirmation should reflect an understanding of the fundamental conclusion arising as a result of an analysis of the entire postwar history that socialism and capitalism cannot develop in isolation from one another, since all the systems inevitably interact within the limits of a single human civilization and within the limits of the objectively caused process of the "rise of an interrelated and integrated world" [1].

The new thinking also dictates the necessity of moving from the notion of the brevity of peaceful coexistence to coexistence as a protracted, long-term process the historical limits of which at present are unpredictable, a recognition of not only the inevitability but also the utility of different social systems within a single civilization and the greatest possible assistance in internationalizing interstate relations. And hence, the basic thing is to shape an awareness of common human solidarity based on such values as concern for peace, the natural and spiritual environment of man, human rights and morality. The forming of a new political thinking also presupposes the affirmation in mass awareness of truly humane principles for relations between people and states and based upon the primacy of common human standards and values, on a recognition of man as the measure of all things and overcoming all forms of alienation and the enslavement of the individual. The process of affirming the new thinking has in no way a spontaneous nature. Its intensity depends primarily upon the informational and propaganda activities, their content, flexibility, timeliness and the ability to provide the broadest masses with truthful information about the modern world, to broaden the spotted trends and show the prospects. The measures being carried out in our nation in light of the final document of the 1989 Vienna Meeting (free access to information, including radio broadcasting, a solution to the question of subscribing to foreign periodicals and the receiving of foreign television) should create optimum conditions for the activities of the Soviet mass information media.

Also of important significance in this context was the Information Forum held in London in May 1989 and investigating the notion of a World Information Program under the aegis of the UN. Its implementation will open up new methods and forms of information exchange both on the level of the state and public organizations, it will seriously broaden the opportunities for informing people in various regions of the planet on the broadest spectrum of

urgent problems and will advance the limits of information collaboration and the free dissemination of information flows. Such activities are also important because the widespread nature of international collaboration and its remoteness from the daily experience of the individual impede independent analysis and a reliable assessment of what is happening. While the opinions of an ordinary person on the problems of the nation's domestic life to a significant degree are determined by his own experience, in terms of the international problems there is little to be hoped from personal experience and the chief role in shaping value judgments is played by the mass information media.¹ Under the conditions of growing glasnost and democratization of Soviet society, the media are gaining an opportunity to introduce the entire adult population of the nation to a discussion of foreign policy problems and make the people a competent participant in the process of preparing and taking major decisions in the area of international relations.

This is particularly important because for an extended time the elaboration and implementation of foreign policy was a matter of a narrow group of professional politicians, while the basic mass of the population was assigned the role of extras who constantly approved all decisions adopted above (the role of social scientists was in essence reduced to the same thing).

This situation created a medium for voluntarism and a bureaucratic monopoly in this sphere. The alienating of ordinary citizens from foreign policy was also abetted by the excessive secrecy and by the desire to hide as many materials as possible in the archives. Such practices could not help but tell on the attitude of the masses to foreign policy questions and on the absence of not only the necessary knowledge but also the equally necessary experience.

For this reason, at present it is particularly important, in resolving the questions of actively involving the nation's population in the discussion, adoption and implementation of important foreign policy decisions, to have the fullest possible notion of the real state of the mass mind; the ideas and notions prevailing in it, the mechanisms of formation and changes. As Soviet researchers have pointed out, the mass mind includes knowledge, ideas, standards and values shared by one or another aggregate of individuals and worked out in the process of their contact between themselves and the joint perception of social information [2]. In adopting knowledge, standards, values worked out in the process of human activity, interpersonal contact and in gaining new information, mass awareness assumes more or less permanent features characterizing its content, on the one hand, and the ability to respond to various essential innovations and changes occurring inside the social structures or in the conditions of their functioning, including external, on the other.

Thus, the events of the mid-1970s (the Helsinki Meeting, the lessening of international tension) and the related optimism were replaced at the beginning of the 1980s by serious concern over the exacerbation of the international situation in line with the new build-up of the arms race, the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the

unleashing of regional conflicts. The open, honest nature of current Soviet foreign policy strategy, the peace initiatives of the nation (in particular, the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing which has lasted over 18 months), the unilateral reduction in the armed forces and military expenditures, the converting of a portion of military production to civilian needs as well as proposals on nuclear disarmament have created the prerequisites for forming fundamentally new notions about national security, in placing the emphasis on political methods and lowering the level of military confrontation (primarily nuclear). These attitudes and actions aimed at checking the arms race and preventing the spontaneous destruction of civilization also evidence the unprecedented features of the new thinking and elements of a planetary social awareness of the nuclear world.

At the same time, the process of the affirming of the new thinking to a significant degree has been impeded by the complexity, dynamism and contradictoriness of the realities of the modern world and these should be promptly and profoundly studied. In speaking at the 18th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, the member of the Presidential Council A.N. Yakovlev commented: "The situation is bloated with contradictions. Seemingly the choice is obvious. But the elimination of war by peaceful means cohabits with a powerful material potential for confrontation and military violence. The opposition of the blocs survives. Old interests cling energetically to old myths. The positive trends are growing stronger but they still need concern and protection" [3].

The move to disarmament, having even received a very powerful impetus recently, as yet has not become irreversible. The movement to a nuclear-free world also encounters resistance. Profound contradictions still survive in the regional conflicts. There is constant concern over the hundreds of American military bases located around the Soviet Union, the hostile statements by certain American politicians reinforced with programs for developing new weapons systems created supposedly solely for defensive purposes but also capable of participating in new offensive operations. Mistrust of the Western nations is also caused by the position of certain forces which are impeding trade, which have hardened

control over exports, particularly of advanced technology, and which support extremist elements.

As is shown by the results of a poll conducted in February 1989 in Moscow and Kuybyshev,² the military threat remains the main source of mistrust, suspicion and caution toward the Western nations. In answering the open question of the questionnaire on the reasons for their disapproving attitude toward the proposals of the Soviet Union and for a substantial unilateral reduction in the number and volume of conventional weapons of the Soviet Army, the respondents wrote most often that "they [the United States] will become stronger" and "this will lead to the weakening of the Soviet Union." These proposals were fully approved by 76 percent in the group of the intelligentsia in the humanities, by 61 percent of the workers and 47 percent of the students; respectively, 4, 7 and 3 percent did not approve.

Of course, all Soviet people are interested in a secure, nuclear-free world, but they understand this differently. The changes in the nation's political life, the establishing of a more tolerant attitude toward dissidence and a pluralism of approaches to urgent problems create favorable prerequisites not only for an understanding of the positions of our partners (and opponents) in international affairs but also for shaping our own attitude toward the phenomena of international life.

The recently conducted research makes it possible to better understand the prerequisites and factors contributing to and impeding the establishment of the new political thinking in the mind of the masses and the prospects of the ideological impact on this. Indicative in this regard are the results of the already-mentioned poll conducted in Moscow and Kuybyshev by co-workers from the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. From this it was clear that one of the factors in the effective process of shaping the new thinking is a predisposition of those questioned to accept the theses characterizing its content. Judging from Table 1, a majority of those questioned in all the established categories completely or basically share and support the fundamental elements of the new political thinking.

Table 1: Do You Agree With the Below-Given Judgment? (% of those questioned in each group)

Judgments	Schoolchildren	Students in Higher Education	Intelligentsia in Natural Sciences	Intelligentsia in Humanities	Workers
Increased military might makes no power strong	84	76	95	85	80
Force cannot be an instrument of foreign policy	80	74	94	83	84
The struggle of ideologies should not be shifted into relations between states	90	88	98	94	70
The movement toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world is capable of fundamentally transforming the political and spiritual appearance of our planet	94	76	86	80	79
At present we have entered an age when common human interest will underlie progress	88	85	85	53	82

Confirmation of the forming of a new thinking is the fact that an absolute majority of those questioned in all the groups, in defining the problems most important for the survival of mankind, mentioned as the three main ones disarmament, the complete abandonment of a policy of force and propagandizing the "image of the enemy," and, lastly, the overcoming of the world ecological situation

(Table 2). In the groups of schoolchildren and intelligentsia in the humanities, the most important problem was seen as the abandoning of propaganda of the "image of the enemy" (around 80 percent of those questioned). A majority of those questioned actively support the political principles and initiatives comprising the mechanism for establishing the new thinking at the current stage.

Table 2: What Is Your Attitude Toward the Below-Given Principles and Initiatives? (% of those questioned in group)*

Principles and Initiatives	Schoolchildren	Students in Higher Education	Intelligentsia in Natural Sciences	Intelligentsia in Humanities	Workers
Deideologization of international relations	42/12	36/3	92/2	69/2	32/7
Principle of reasonable sufficiency of armament	80/14	83/0	86/2	75/4	66/0
Primacy of common human interests over class	80/6	83/0	97/0	95/0	52/3
Conversion of defense production in Warsaw Pact countries	70/4	54/6	82/2	49/4	38/3
Conversion of defense production in NATO countries	70/2	50/9	82/2	45/2	32/7

* In the numerator those supporting completely or basically, in the denominator those not supporting.

In analyzing the changes recently in the activities of the media, a majority of those questioned felt that the Soviet press, radio and television had become more objective in assessing the policy and reality of the Western nations and paying more attention to the positive experience acquired there and the possibility of collaborating with these countries. This was the opinion of 80 percent of the schoolchildren, 74 percent of the students in institutions of higher learning, 82 percent of the workers, 75 percent of the intelligentsia in natural sciences and 60 percent in the humanities. An absolute majority (over 80 percent) in all groups and in both cities approved such changes in the activities of the media.

Around 20 percent of those questioned in all the groups felt that recently the media had begun to pay less attention to examining the contradictions and problems in the socioeconomic development and policy of the Western countries. From 25 to 48 percent of the respondents pointed out that recently criticism of imperialism has weakened in the presentations of our media. Such an approach was considered completely or partially justified by 46 percent of the schoolchildren, 56 percent of the students in institutions of higher learning and the intelligentsia in natural sciences, 65 percent of the intelligentsia in the humanities and 61 percent in the group of the ideological aktiv, in thus confirming the idea of abandoning the propaganda of the "image of the enemy."

The shaping of new political thinking is inseparably linked to the policy of glasnost being carried out in our country with the aid of the media. The effective implementation of this policy is based upon the two-way activeness of the communicator and the recipient. This means not only a readiness of those who disseminate the information to analyze the rules and mechanisms of international activities as well as the sense and goals of the decisions being taken and the initiatives planned.

Activity is also required from the second party. Glasnost is the opportunity to become acquainted with the state of affairs, the conditions and results of activity in any sphere and participate in resolving unsolved problems, both domestic and international. Without activeness in the search for information, glasnost remains an unclaimed and unrealized given. On this level, one of the factors providing an effective process in forming the new political thinking by the media is a constant interest in international questions and a desire for the fullest and most up to date obtaining of information on this problem.

On the basis of the data from the already-mentioned research, it can be asserted that the thematic priorities in the various groups of the population have changed somewhat. International information (the international situation, the conditions and standard of living of the Soviet population, the former socialist commonwealth countries, the developed capitalist countries) holds first place only in the groups of schoolchildren, workers and partially the engineer-technical intelligentsia. We should note the unusually high interest for these groups in the questions of nationality relations, morality, democracy and human rights.

In the groups of the intelligentsia and students in institutions of higher learning, basic attention is given to the problems of democracy, human rights, economic questions, science, technology, education and nationality relations. Probably the changes in preferences are determined by the processes of perestroika and the policy of glasnost being carried out in the nation. A certain decline in interest in international information can be related to the claims on its quality established in last year's research, namely, a lack of interest, incompleteness, a lack of timeliness and nonobjectivity.

In assessing the work of the media in treating the changes occurring in international life, a majority of the respondents, as the last polls show, feels that this has been done most successfully by television and newspapers. Over the last year, they note, substantial changes for the better have occurred in the content of newspapers and the TV and radio broadcasts on international questions. This view is shared for the radio by 28 percent of the schoolchildren, 41 percent of the students in institutions of higher learning, 30 and 35 percent of the intelligentsia in the natural sciences and humanities and 66 percent of the workers. Changes for the better in the content of TV

broadcasts on international problems were noted by 76 percent of the schoolchildren, 79 percent of the students in institutions of higher learning, 55 and 67 percent of the intelligentsia and 91 percent of the workers. As for the newspapers, this opinion was held by 74 percent of the schoolchildren and 76 percent of the students in institutions of higher learning, 64 and 67 percent of the intelligentsia and 93 percent of the workers.

A depiction on the attitude toward materials dealing with international questions as a whole can be seen in Table 3:

Table 3: Attitude Toward Materials in Media on International Questions (% of those questioned in each group)

Mass Information Media Groups Questioned	Television		Radio		Newspapers and Magazines	
	Basically Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Basically Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Basically Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Intelligentsia in natural sciences	56	11	20	39	53	38
Intelligentsia in humanities	35	39	18	31	63	18
Workers	50	36	45	27	70	20
TV and radio editors	38	46	28	23	48	33
Ideological aktiv	67	30	44	24	78	18

As can be seen from the Table, the percentage of those basically dissatisfied with the media materials on international questions differs by groups of those questioned, but is everywhere significant. It is interesting to note that there is a rather high percentage of persons dissatisfied with the media work among those in the field, that is, the editors of the republic and oblast TV and radio committees.

In disclosing the sense of the changes as international information proposed in the presentations of the domestic media, those questioned note an improvement to a certain degree in such characteristics as objectivity, criticalness of assessments, the timeliness of the information and its completeness. One of the main claims against international information as before remains the rebuke of its incompleteness. The effectiveness of the media in shaping the new political thinking depends upon that conceptual apparatus which they employ, in describing the sense of the occurring international events. Researchers on the problems of party education and lecture propaganda in the Znaniye [Knowledge] Society, in particular, noted the difficulties of a significant portion of those polled in defining even such basic concepts as "democracy," "socialism," "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "internationalism." The insufficiently high degree of the semiotic preparation of the audience to accept the information of the media on international problems is also confirmed by the research conducted by the Sociology Institute in Moscow and Kishinev. The most difficult for comprehension by those questioned were such concepts as "deideologization of international relations": with this being completely incomprehensible for 48 percent of the schoolchildren, 35 percent of the students in higher institutions, 45 percent of the workers, 18 percent of the media editors and 22 percent of the ideological aktiv;

"conversion of defense production": completely incomprehensible for 32 percent of the schoolchildren, 26 percent of the students in higher institutions, 31 percent of the intelligentsia in the humanities, 30 percent of the workers, 38 percent of the media editors; "socialist pluralism": completely incomprehensible for 32 percent of the schoolchildren, 26 percent of the students in higher institutions, 31 percent of the intelligentsia in the humanities, 38 percent of the media editors and 23 percent in the group of the ideological aktiv.

A failure to understand the content moves an announcement into the category of informational noise and reduces the effectiveness of the appeal of the media to the audience. In practice a misunderstanding of the meaning of the offered concepts reduces the dissemination of various initiatives designated by these concepts and distorts their sense. Thus, in the group of schoolchildren, students and workers, where there was the largest amount of those who failed to understand the meaning of the concept "deideologization of international relations," in comparison with the other categories there was a low degree of support for this political initiative (see Table 2). The failure to comprehend the sense of the concept of "the conversion of defense production" clearly mitigated the assessment of this political initiative (see Table 2) as in all the categories of those questioned the conversion of defense production in the NATO countries was supported to a lesser degree than in the Warsaw Pact countries. Generally, a miscomprehension impedes the creation of an integrated picture of events occurring in the world and possibly in part for this reason the replies to the question to what degree the Soviet journalists writing on international questions succeed in explaining the sense and importance of events occurring in the world were distributed in the following manner (Table 4).

Table 4: Are the Soviet International Affairs Journalists Capable of Explaining the Events Occurring in the World?
(% of those questioned in each group)

Reply to Question	Schoolchildren	Students in Higher Education	Intelligentsia in Natural Sciences	Intelligentsia in Humanities	Media Editors	Workers
Always possible	0	0	0	0		0
More often is able than not	58	56	31	31	36	68
Less often able than not	24	26	53	39	49	26
Never able	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hard to answer		18	16	31	13	9

Thus, the data of the conducted sociological research make it possible to assert that a predominant majority of those questioned approves the basic provisions and principles of the new political thinking and the Soviet foreign policy initiatives. In all groups of those questioned, there is a high interest in international information, although in a number of groups (for example, the intelligentsia), this surrenders its primacy to the economic and nationality problems and to the questions of democracy and human rights.

The great interest in international problems is largely the achievement of the mass information and propaganda media. This circumstance was also pointed out by numerous respondents who felt that recently there had been substantial changes for the better in the work of the Soviet radio, television and press. A large portion of the audience approves the abandoning of propaganda of the "image of the enemy" and the transition to shaping an "image of the partner" and this creates the necessary prerequisites for the confirmation of the new political thinking.

At the same time, in considering the particularly important role of the media in establishing the new political thinking, there must be constant sociological observation of the quality of the international information, particularly for such characteristics of it as completeness and timeliness.

Determining the bottlenecks in providing information to the public can be achieved: a) by studying letters from the reader and listener audience on international problems; b) by analyzing the questions of students on all levels and forms of political studies; c) by analyzing the media product from the viewpoint, for example, of the geography of announcements, their timeliness, appropriateness and so forth.

The complexity and scope of the tasks carried out by the media in shaping the new political thinking makes it obligatory to have specialized scientific subdivisions with the task of constantly analyzing these activities, their form and effectiveness. The results of the sociological research also convince us of the need for special explanatory work among various categories of the public (considering the level of their general education preparation and the degree to which they are informed) in disclosing the meaning of innovations in the modern conceptual vocabulary reflecting the content of adopted

foreign policy decisions and initiatives, both on our behalf and on behalf of our partners. This will make it significantly easier for each person to understand the essence of all that is happening on the international scene and will help in working out his own view, his own attitude toward international events and processes. This is all the more important as the Soviet state under the law emerges: there will be an increased role for public opinion not only in resolving domestic problems but also international ones.

Footnotes

1. Let us immediately stipulate that their influence in this case is not absolute but is necessarily mediated by a number of factors: both by interpersonal contacts and by the belonging of a person to one or another referent group, the attitude toward the country the problems of which are being discussed, is education, status and so forth.

2. In the course of the research we questioned 1.2 million representatives of all categories of the employed population in Moscow and Kuybyshev, including as control groups the editors of the republic and oblast television and radio who had been sent for studies to the All-Union Institute for the Advanced Training of Radio and Television Workers Under the USSR Gosteleradio (State Radio and Television Committee) and a group of the ideological aktiv.

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Society and the Army (Roundtable Materials)

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[Unattributed roundtable debate]

[Text] The age-old dream of the peoples of our planet—bringing closer the birth of a nonviolent world—is becoming more and more a reality of today. This has been greatly aided by perestroika which has profoundly permeated all spheres of human activity and is urgently demanding fundamental changes for the sake of social progress. Our Armed Forces have not remained on the sidelines of the occurring changes.

Perestroika in international relations, the adopting of a new military doctrine, the reduction in the size of the Armed Forces and a reliance on quality parameters in defense development—this and much else urgently dictate the need for military reform in the nation. Precisely this will make it possible for the Army and Navy to acquire a new quality embodying modern equipment, a popular character, high professionalism and loyalty to military duty and to the heroic traditions of serving the fatherland.

The current military reform is not the first in the history of the Russian state. In our view, we must not forget the already acquired experience. The use of this can do good service under today's conditions. At the same time, the current military reform has its particular features requiring a specific response to the objectively arising questions. For example, on what principles should the military reform be carried out, what should its content be, and how will it help to strengthen the nation's defense capability?

These and many other questions arising in line with the necessity of carrying out the military reform in the nation were the subject of a roundtable discussion involving both civilian and military sociologists.

T.I. Zaslavskaya (academician, President of the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association] and Director of the VTsIOM [All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion]): Our session today is devoted to a discussion of the problems related to the relationships of the army and society. I feel that a majority of us, persons not involved in the processes of army life or participating in them directly, has wondered constantly: What is the army at present on the social level, in the sense of its political orientation, what can we count on here, how will it behave in various situations, and what are its internal problems and difficulties which it is experiencing in moving toward the military reform?

Yu.A. Deryugin (candidate of philosophical sciences and Chairman of the Bureau of the Military Department of the SSA): The new political thinking with its consequence of significant positive changes on the international scene has forced us to reassess the role of the defense sphere.

The foreign policy factor which is developing and changing in its content and goals has had a radical impact on the Armed Forces as a social instrument of the state. Their functions and purpose are being enriched with many new aspects. The adoption and implementation of a strictly defensive doctrine influences not only the forms and methods of armed combat but also many social processes occurring in the troops.

Equally important are the internal contradictions which the Army and Navy have encountered at the beginning of the 1990s. The serious deformations which have arisen as a consequence of stagnation are literally shaking the military community.

Protectionism, the clannish corrupt social stratum among the officers, the social and legal lack of protection for all categories of servicemen, the "hazing," the suicidal incidents and the sharp decline in military discipline have thoroughly undermined the combat might of the modern Armed Forces. In the nation there is a growing process of a drop in their social prestige, and a gap has arisen between the army and the people. The use of military force in Tbilisi and Baku caused a wave of dissatisfaction and social uncertainty among significant strata of society.

The way out of the arising situation can be found only on the path of military reform. We feel this should encompass primarily the sphere of military policy. It is essential to find those social mechanisms so that in working out the policy prior to taking the decision all society would be involved including the political parties, unions, movements and public organizations. The adopting of the decisions should be the prerogative of the Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the President. Military policy under present-day conditions can be organized solely on the principles of a defense sufficiency. In this regard, it is important to provide full glasnost in determining and approving the military budget (item-by-item).

A radical reorganization of the Armed Forces, the converting to a contract method for manning them and the establishing of a professional army can become important components, in our view, in the military reform. It is impossible to separate from the military reform those questions related to providing social and legal protection for the servicemen. Ensuring the carrying out of all the constitutional rights of the individual is a most important task of the military reform. Under conditions of a multiparty system which is becoming a real fact in our reality, we cannot help but see the problems of the depoliticizing of the army. In this regard, it is important to carefully study the experience existing in other countries.

The military reform cannot help but propose specific measures aimed at humanizing the internal army relations and democratizing all aspects of Army and Navy life. In the content of the military reform, as can be seen,

the questions should be presented of organizing reserves and the most progressive forms of their training found.

Here is the range of problems that we must discuss at the session of our roundtable.

The Place and Role of the Army in Society

V.V. Serebryannikov (doctor of philosophical sciences, professor): The transition of mankind to a truly peaceful age presupposes a profound transformation of the armies in all states. It is important that the armies be transformed from an implement of war into a means of preventing it and that they be involved in the mechanisms of world and regional security.

It is also essential on a more practical basis to take up the theories which establish the eternal nature and invariability of the purpose of armies solely for war. Yes, during a definite period of the transformation of the army as a social institution, its functions will bring together two opposite principles, that is, activities in preventing war and maintaining the ability to repel aggression, that is, to conduct military operations. The sociologists must show how such duality will tell on the personality of the serviceman and on the interaction of the army and society.

The internal aspect is equally acute in the problem of the interaction of society and the army. In one or another state this can vary, from harmonious relations based on complete trust and unity with nonessential deviations to openly mistrustful and hostile ones. This is determined by the nature of the society, by the foreign and domestic conditions, and particularly by the political regime and the degree of development of democracy.

Interesting on this question are the thoughts of Holbach: "If unfavorable circumstances force a certain people to hold a large number of soldiers under arms," he wrote, "then the defenders of the people soon subordinate the people to themselves" [1]. With the rule of a despot, Holbach emphasized, the army is the most dangerous enemy of the motherland. These thoughts of the great philosopher, of course, cannot be mechanistically applied to modern times but we can note something universal in them.

The attitude of society toward the army is determined by to what degree the army serves society's interests, assists in universal progress as well as by to what degree the organizational development of the army itself and the disposition of it are a matter of the citizens themselves.

The designated factors which determine the attitude between society and the army can be in the most extreme contradiction. For example, our army did play and does play a great heroic role in the defense of the motherland and this is the main source of society's respectful attitude toward it.

At the same time, these relations have been influenced in an extremely negative manner by the authoritarian-bureaucratic system which was introduced from the end of the 1920s. The curtailment of democratization, the elimination of society's control over the army, the growing concealment of the military sphere from the people themselves, the exclusiveness of army life and the prohibiting of any criticism of the Armed Forces—all of this weakened the links between the army and the people. The curtailment of democracy in the internal party relations under the conditions of Stalinism and stagnation, particularly in the spiritual sphere, led to profound differences in the mind of the military and the civilians.

Question: What, in your view, are the most acute problems in the life of the Armed Forces?

V.V. Serebryannikov: One such problem is the absence of legal and social protection for the professional and temporary personnel of the Armed Forces. Neither the soldiers nor the officers have a full civil status, sufficient opportunity to manifest initiative and creativity in their activities or interest in service.

There are also the problems of democratizing the life of the army collectives, the professionalization of the servicemen and much else. It has not been my aim to bring these out.

V.N. Lopatin (USSR People's Deputy): Serebryannikov has commented very accurately on the absence of entire legislation on the military questions. What laws do we have dealing with the Armed Forces? This is Chapter 5 of the USSR Constitution, the Law on Universal Military Service and the Law on Criminal Liability for Military Crimes. The remainder is instructions and orders.... This leads to a situation where the army is not a stabilizing element in society.

We still do not have a precise notion of the existing mechanism for taking decisions on the employment of the Armed Forces. There was a time interval of 10 years between the commitment of our troops to Afghanistan and the use of them in Tbilisi. But what has changed in this mechanism? Yes, probably nothing. Both before the decisions were taken by a narrow group of party functionaries and so is the case now. And in order to escape responsibility, attempts were made to shift responsibility to the army. This is why among the most important problems raised in the overall plan for a military reform being worked out by us is the problem of working out a mechanism under the control of the USSR Supreme Soviet for taking decisions on the employment of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Unfortunately, the current leadership of the military department is far from working out such a mechanism. It wants to leave everything as it is. The army is an element of the state and not of the party. No party should control the Armed Forces. The army should be led only by the superior body of state power.

Question: But certainly the army as before was subordinate to the CPSU?

V.N. Lopatin: Yes, unfortunately, the CPSU, as the banks, continues to hold power over the army.

Question: And how long, in your view, will such a situation remain?

V.N. Lopatin: The answer to this question should be provided by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

V.A. Yadov (doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and Director of the ISI (Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences)): In our society, numerous political, economic, social, cultural and various other problems built up over the years of deformation. In my view, there is the general question of whether the army can be used against the people. And then why?

The situation in the nation is extremely unstable. The recent situation of the people is deteriorating and the intensity of interethnic conflicts is growing. The economic reform has already led to growing social tension between the various groups of the population. We are in a profound, protracted crisis. And if in this situation the opportunity survives of employing the army as a certain part of society against another part, then catastrophe is inevitable.

Such a possibility should be eliminated. The military reform planned in the nation is capable and should carry out this task, in my view.

I.A. Goncharenko (student at the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin): The questions of the employment of the army as an element of the state has always concerned people. In turn, the army has never remained on the sidelines of the processes occurring in society. This has always been the case, regardless of what classes kept in power and how they employed the army to achieve various ends. In this sense, the army of the socialist states and in particular the USSR Armed Forces are not exception.

For a long time, our army was hidden behind a curtain of secrecy and this undoubtedly was necessary from the viewpoint of ensuring the interests of security. However, the secrecy was often abused for covering up mistakes and negative phenomena in the army. This led to the accumulation of ever-new contradictions.

The army is not divorced from the people. Along with the people, it is experiencing the difficulties of our time, the awkwardness of the political and economic reforms, the complexity and acuteness of interethnic relations in a number of the nation's regions. The storms raging in our society's life has also left its impact on the attitudes to the army.

The search for the leading principles for carrying out the military reform and the directions for implementing it urgently require a clear definition of the role and functions of the army in our state. Thus, a decision on the

provisions of the USSR Constitution, the Armed Forces have been established "in the aims of defending the socialist victories and the peaceful labor of the Soviet people." This is the most important function of our army. At the same time, the army as the offspring of the people cannot remain indifferent to carrying out the domestic tasks of society. This is why the leading domestic function of the army is its role as a school for training civic responsibility, courage and patriotism as well as physical conditioning.

The army as the most mobile and disciplined institution of the state and as a part of the people, in addition to carrying out its main functions, opposes extremists, eliminates the consequences of catastrophes, accidents and natural disasters, it cleans the streets of the cities and brings in the harvest on the nation's fields. All of this unconditionally is done in the interests of the people. But this is contrary to the main purpose of the Army, it does not make its combat readiness higher or the security of the people stronger.

Such employment of the army, in my view, will continue until the state has services capable of carrying out such tasks on a professional level.

N.A. Slesarev (candidate of philosophical sciences, scientific secretary of the Bureau of the Military Department at the SSA): Among the participants of our discussion there would surely be anyone who would deny the self-evident truth that the army is the "carbon copy" of Soviet society. At the complex and contradictory processes occurring in society under the conditions of perestroika, it has retreated in the Armed Forces. As the experience of the docks is very difficult to resolve the contradictions and difficulties. Consequently, in the near future we cannot expect any miracle under these conditions, on the way to a fundamental change and sharp improvement in the coherence of Army and Navy life and activities.

V.V. Ivanov (student at the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin): In speaking about the "army-society" system, it is essential to emphasize that this is caused by the general properties of complex social systems, such as rationality, stability, resistance to innovations, of the administrative innovations. The risks of managing only in activating the so-called points of leverage (that is, the small number of parameters in which the system is particularly sensitive to a change), the conflict between short- and long-term goals, and the tendency toward a deterioration in the system with growth, concealed interference or the active absence of effective outside management.

Management of the "army-society" system in the layer of ordinary swarms is not capable of reflecting all the related aspects with sufficient accuracy. Consequently, for effectively military organizational development, is for harmonizing the relations of the army and society. A scientific basis is extremely essential for the theoretical

level this means an urgent demand for a rational modification of all Marxist-Leninist teachings concerning war, peace and the army, that is, the fundamentals of Soviet military sociology. On a practical level, this calls for the creation of an independent research organization capable of thoroughly working out the psychological, sociopsychological, sociocultural, ethnosocial, social, political and economic aspects of the military reform.

Unfortunately, for now there merely are individual scientific research departmental ideas and diverse analytical studies by certain enthusiasts. Regardless of the apparent unity in the elements of the "army-society" system, often their relationships are ignored. As a result, projects appear for improving the army and these are divorced from the real state of society. With such a state of affairs, we are in risk of taking an incompetent decision.

The discussion of what sort of army we need should, of course, go beyond the confines of current affairs and be argued not with contradictory statements but rather by research work done by an interdisciplinary collective of specialists. It is essential to know precisely the necessary sizes of the Armed Forces, think out a system for preparing a reserve, and conduct sociological research on public opinion relating to the attitude of a professional army. We must disclose the proposed contingent desiring to serve on a contract basis, analyze the parameters of service desired by them and the expected amounts of wages depending upon territorial-climatic, sociodomestic and other conditions. Here we must consider the weak social and domestic infrastructure in the nation, its financial and economic capabilities, the moral-psychological climate of society and the army and much else.

We would point out that the United States has spent years on analogous work. Here it would be difficult to overestimate the role of science, particularly sociology. Otherwise we will again have a law adopted "on the other side of the Alps."

The General Plan of Military Reform

V.P. Vorozhtsov (candidate of philosophical sciences, docent): In discussing the draft of a military reform, we cannot help but mention its methodological support. Here the main shortcoming, in my view, is the limitation solely to the confines of the Armed Forces. This is why it seems advisable to work out a general plan for reforming the entire system of the military organization in Soviet society and one of the elements of this could be a program for perestroika in the Army and Navy.

The basic methodological principles for elaborating such a general plan could be: a concrete historical approach, the planning of variations, comprehensiveness, systematicness, and forecasting.

On the structural level, the general plan for reforming the military organization in Soviet society can be represented as a unity of three basic blocks.

The first, military-economic, block should include arrangements for financing military expenditures, scientific support for the military organization (including scientific research and research and design) and, of course, the military industrial complex per se.

The second, purely military block can contain a general plan for reforming the USSR Armed Forces as well as the military structures which are not part of them (the border, interior and railroad troops, the mobilization and military registration systems as well as paramilitary training).

The third, military-political block should include the questions of restructuring military and patriotic education, reforms in the legal and informational support for the activities of the military structures and the external military ties.

These blocks should be coordinated to an optimum degree and the general plan itself should also take provisions for the questions of changing ties between the numerous and qualitatively diverse components.

The preamble of the general plan should contain a forecast of the possible state and different approaches for the development of the external and domestic political conditions for the activities of our country. In a word, it is essential to provide answers to two signal questions: the first, in what sort of world will the reformed military structures operate and for what purposes and, secondly, of what sort of state (federative, confederative, and so forth) will they be the military force. This will make it possible to give the general plan a real programmatic character.

In order to avoid one-sidedness and the elements of a departmental approach, the military reform should be given a general state status, not in terms of the degree of influence on all aspects of social life, but in the unimpeded, certainly only to a radical economic reform.

V.V. Serebryannikov: Under the conditions where society is rapidly restructuring itself, largely the restructuring of the army is fraught with severe consequences. The press has directly raised the questions: "On whose side will the army be in the event of an exacerbation of the struggle between the perestroika and anti-perestroika forces?" "Can there be a military coup or civil war?" and so forth. Such questions are also being heard now.

The laws adopted by the Third Congress of Peoples' Deputies on the order for introducing a state of emergency, the employment of the army, the establishing of presidential rule, and the measures planned related to the military reform create the elements of a mechanism which exclude the possibility of the non-institutional employment of the Armed Forces. But as a whole this mechanism has not yet been formed. This clearly is essential to further develop the system of society's control over the military-defense sphere, the taking of decisions on the employment of the Armed Forces and

ensuring maximum openness and glasnost in the military sphere, of course, not to the detriment of state security.

The attitude of the people toward the army depends largely upon the state of the latter, that is, to what degree the army corresponds in its quantitative and qualitative parameters to the real dangers, whether it lags behind the best armies in terms of its armament, training, state of morale and discipline, how involved it is in the life of the nation and whether it in fact helps the country. Here a multiplicity of new problems has arisen and these await their solution and at times cause valid demands by the workers on the state and the military. One of the reasons for this is the lag of perestroika in the awareness of the leadership of the Ministry of Defense.

In order that the army's development keep pace with society and assist in stabilizing the internal situation in the nation, profound changes must be carried out in the army corresponding to the changes being made in the economy, politics and spiritual life.

The role of the army as a stabilizing, consolidating and protecting institution increases substantially as its openness is strengthened, as it is subordinated to the democratically transformed bodies of power, and in escaping from subordination to anonymous groups which do not adhere to any rules in administering the army or, at best, proceed from their personal experience and speculative notions and this can also threaten stability and the democratic institutions.

L.G. Yegorov (candidate of philosophical sciences, co-chairman of the Bureau of the Military Department at the SSA): The need for a military reform has long been at hand. This has been brought about by the changes which have occurred within the Armed Forces themselves as well as in the economic, social, political and foreign policy spheres of our society's life. It is a good thing that two drafts are being worked out for a general plan of the military reform: one by the Ministry of Defense and the other by a group of USSR people's deputies from among the servicemen.

N.A. Slesarev: The leaders of the military department, in endeavoring to placate public opinion in the nation, have repeatedly emphasized that in the Army and Navy the political awareness of the servicemen has risen, their activeness has grown in strengthening combat readiness and military discipline. As practice shows, this however does not fully correspond to reality.

The necessity has arisen of establishing a comprehensive scientific-procedural program for military sociological examination of the "Military Reform in the USSR." Its elaboration should involve not only the most competent army and military sociologists but also mathematicians, political scientists, psychologists, demographers and other scientists. This will make it possible to encompass and take into account all aspects of the internal and external manifestation of the nation's military reform.

The absence of such a program gives rise to a multiplicity of independent, at times nonscientific and unrepresentative military sociological studies which do not shed light on the truth and even further distort it.

In speaking out a general plan for the military reform, it is essential to clearly work out and clarify the similarity and difference, what a military reform means in the nation and what reform means in the USSR Armed Forces.

The military reform in the nation, as a broader concept, must also include on the content level a range of measures by all the state institutions and public organizations aimed at improving the parameters for the military defense of the socialist fatherland. All the citizens of the nation should participate in the discussion of the overall plan for carrying it out, proceeding not only from their professional affiliation but also from their civil duty.

The reform of the Armed Forces is a narrower phenomenon requiring serious changes in the Army and Navy. All society is also interested in reforming the army organism for probably in the nation there is no person who has not been directly or indirectly involved with the Armed Forces. Consequently, all the citizens must actively discuss this problem. However, priority in working out the tasks of the army and navy reform should be given to scientists and servicemen having great experience in military service. They, in considering public opinion in the troops and in the nation, can most effectively work out the ways for reforming the army organism.

A.G. Poliponskiy (candidate of philosophical sciences): In speaking about the overall plan of the military reform, we cannot help but mention its specific goal. What is this goal? Why is a military reform being carried out in the nation? In order to increase combat readiness of the Armed Forces or improve military discipline? In order to deepen the democratization of the internal life of the Army and Navy or overcome the improper relations between servicemen?

These questions are not rhetorical, for all the problems cannot be resolved merely in the course of reforming the Armed Forces themselves. There must be a clear formulation of the main, strategic goals of the military reform and determine the stages for achieving these. Unfortunately, this has not been sufficiently worked out in the general plan proposed by the Ministry of Defense.

One of the main shortcomings of the proposed draft, in my view, is the fact that its authors have proceeded from the old political and ideological notions of the army and its role in society. Their conviction that the internal function will disappear or wither away with the elimination of exploiting classes incompletely reflects the social role of the Soviet Armed Forces. In following the logic of the draft's authors, we conclude that the army, as a social institution, does not perform any role within society.

Should one then be surprised that a portion of the nation's population shares the opinion that the Armed Forces are unnecessary?"

Yu.M. Biryukov (student at the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin): One of the most important practical tasks confronting military sociologists is the ascertaining and scientific support for realizing social opportunities of both all society and each of its members in carrying out the military reform. This will make it possible to successfully realize the principle of defensive sufficiency in the organizational development of the Armed Forces and achieve reasonable limits in the converting of military production.

V.A. Yadov: It is essential at present to give some thought to how the army will behave under the conditions of a multiparty system.

The presence of officers from different parties in the army, and soon this will be a reality, can lead to social clashes inside the army. It can cease to be manageable. Persons bearing arms under party pressure will act against anyone.

In order to prevent this, it is essential to move the army out from under party influence and make it a weapon of the state.

V.V. Shaydt (student at the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin): Is a military coup possible in our nation? This question has been asked of the members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and the commanders of the military districts, and it is no surprise that it was heard today among the military sociologists. The posing of such a question shows the growing concern of the Soviet people for the fate of perestroika which has opened up the path to a democratic process of the renewal of our society. The military reform being planned in the nation must eliminate this alarm.

The problem of reforming a modern army must be viewed in a dialectical unity with the problems of reforming all structures in our society. It is impossible to create a model of a future army without having forecast, at least generally, a model of that democratic state to which we would like to move as a result of carrying out a profound social reform. If this dialectical unity is violated, we would be able to create only an abstract model which would be divorced from the material basis of our society's development.

A society which has gone into movement, into a transitional period, must cautiously approach the problem of reforming its army. Even now, we can see how many problems arise when must one element is changed in the "society—army" system, that is, the political system of society. For the flexible, dynamic model of a developing society there should be a corresponding analogous model for its military organization. It is essential to have mechanisms for interaction between society and the army which would encourage the development of the "society—army" system and not impede it.

It can be assumed that the more rapid pace in democratizing the army and in carrying out the military reform, in comparison with the pace of carrying out other reforms, will be the guarantee for the irreversibility of the revolutionary renewal of society and the impossibility of a military coup.

B.M. Levin (doctor of economic sciences, sector head at the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences): In the course of our discussion, various opinions have been voiced on the general plan of a military reform. This is a completely normal phenomenon which reflects the course of the discussion of this problem in the nation.

I am convinced that the army is necessary and it will exist for a long time in the state. Regardless of the warming of the international situation, we must keep a strong, viable army. It is essential also that the Soviet people, as before, loved the army and not feared it. But in my opinion we do not need the army as it currently is.

In the army, very many problems have built up requiring an immediate resolution. And it is a good thing that these are seen by the people's deputies from among the servicemen. In looking at their efforts to work out the questions involved in carrying out a military reform, it is possible to view the future with optimism. Regardless of all the backwardness in the views of the superior military leadership, common sense should prevail and the army should become what is necessary for our society and how we want to see it.

V.N. Lopatin: After the recognition on the superior state and political level of the need to carry out a military reform, the views of the military department, regardless of obvious reticence, have changed. But only in form, that is, in words. They have remained the old ones in content. This is why the draft laws being prepared in the military department evoke great doubts on the desires and aspirations of its leadership to bring about change in any fundamental manner in the Armed Forces.

For example, take the total of the military budget. For a long time this was a "secret under seven seals." Thus, on a visit to America in 1988, MSU S. Akhromeiev said that we did not have such a figure.

Two years passed. Now the amount of the military budget of 70 billion rubles has officially been published. A second figure of 200 billion has appeared in the magazine *NOVOYE VREMYA*. And no one officially has repudiated this. What does this show? Either a reticence to name the actual amount of expenditures on military needs or the lack of any serious methods for calculating these expenditures.

V.V. Kolotusha (student at the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin): Military production is also going through a serious crisis. The appearance of this can be observed in the various functional, structural, social, international and moral spheres. This urgently requires a reform in military production, particularly its spiritual sector. The spiritual must become the basic principal in

the military reform process. Consequently, this should be subjected to change first.

As can be seen from the proposed drafts, the conceptual provisions and the forecasts of the results from the military reform for now are little coordinated with the expected political, economic and social changes and transformations in the nation.

The problems of the military reform process should be worked out on a competitive basis by specially established nondepartmental scientific collectives. The consumers of their product would be the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidential Council and the military department as these, due to the lack of information, for now are unable to take valid decisions.

The first step should be the removal of a portion of the scientific and scholarly subdivisions from under the military department.

In a word, there must be the rapid and viable elaboration of a general plan for the military reform process and this should be preceded by immediate measures to restructure the corresponding subdivisions in the spiritual sphere of military production.

R.V. Rybkina (doctor of economic sciences, professor and chief science associate at the Siberian Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences): In my view, a vicious circle has arisen in our discussion. On the one hand, there is no fundamental, independent sociological research which is essential in the army. On the other hand, judging from the comments of Comrade Lopatin and other participants in our discussion, there are neither the special sociological laboratories for this or a sufficient amount of trained sociologists and psychologists. In what manner can we now test out the proposed general plan for a military reform?

We must not rely on mass sociological polls. These are incapable of resolving theoretical problems of which such a large number has built up. Incidentally, they are strikingly similar to the problems in our economy. This certainly is a manifestation of the natural interrelationship of all spheres of society.

It seems that the problems of the military department will be resolved more effectively if the draft of the reform is turned over to experts for reworking.

Ways of Realizing the Military Reform

L.G. Yegorov: The adoption of the new military defense doctrine, the commenced reduction in the Army and Navy, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the nations of Eastern Europe and Mongolia, and the declassifying of the nation's military budget—all of this has made it possible for the sociologists to focus their attention on acute problems requiring an immediate resolution. One of these is relationships in the troop collectives.

Even at the start of the 1970s, military sociologists were noticing intractions in the relationships between the

personnel of different periods of service. Such phenomena previously were of an individual nature. But the one-year shortening of military service carried out, the lowering of the draft age and most importantly the introduction of a call-up into the ranks of the Armed Forces twice a year reduced the stability of the core and the protective functions of the troop collectives.

The army draft contingent is a barometer for the processes occurring in the nation. Under the conditions of the crisis state in society and the economy, in the Army and Navy negative phenomena have continued to grow and these have been termed "hazing." As is obvious from the regularly conducted military sociological studies, in recent years under the impact of demographic and aggravated ethnic processes, these phenomena have assumed the nature of the formation of nationality and homeland groups.

The deterioration of relations between the various categories of servicemen, and the increased number of avoiding military service and desertion—all of this places on the agenda the question of replacing the draft contingent with volunteers, that is, the converting to a professional army. Proceeding from the condition of our economy, this can be carried out only gradually, considering the reciprocal reductions in the size of the armies in the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Otherwise the current army of 4 million would require an additional on the order of 28-29 billion rubles for its support.

The process of the professionalizing of the Armed Forces is an objective pattern: one-third of the personnel is made up of officers and warrant officers ["praporshchik"], and this is up to 50 percent in the Air Force units and on the Navy ships. These are professionals.

If our Armed Forces were reduced, as was pointed out by the American military sociologist C. Moskos, by 2-fold and a transition was made to a professional basis, this would make it possible for them to ensure a high level of combat readiness and military discipline.

Question: In the nation there is a growing opposition between the administrative-punitive authorities and the people. On whose side does the army stand now?

L.G. Yegorov: This question is heard often now. It arose out of the facts of employing the Armed Forces to maintain order in a number of the nation's regions. This was a forced measure. It is the consequence of the slowness of the local authorities and this has often led to a sharp exacerbation of the situation. But I feel that the Armed Forces under no circumstances should carry out the functions of interior troops. Then such questions will disappear by themselves.

N.A. Slesarev: One of the most important problems of the military reform is the problems of raising the prestige of the Armed Forces and military service. It is no secret that in recent years the prestige of the military profession has dropped rapidly both among the nation's population as well as among the military personnel. This, for

example, is shown by recruitment to military schools and the course of the call-up of the youth into the ranks of the Armed Forces.

For an analysis of the reasons for this phenomenon and the ways to localize it, profound joint research is required by civilian and military sociologists.

L.A. Goncharenko: The prestige and authority of the military depend largely upon the draft contingent. As was emphasized by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, modern warfare "just as necessarily requires high-quality human material as it does modern equipment" [2].

But the situation with the draft contingent is such that it cannot help but cause alarm. An analysis of the spring 1989 induction shows that up to 25 percent of the draftees had a police record, 6.5 percent had been convicted, many did not have one or two parents, they were acquainted with alcohol and drugs and had various physical shortcomings [3]. Because of several convictions or convictions for major crimes, every six months around 60,000 persons are not drafted [4]. The pacifist and antiarmy attitudes dominant in certain circles of the youth are expressed in the trend toward an increased number of "refuseniks." Just during the period of the autumn 1989 call-up, 6,603 persons refused to report to the military commissariats [5]. Unfortunately, the situation did not improve with the 1990 draft. The qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the draft contingent have been strikingly influenced by the law according to which the social position "student" automatically releases young persons from service in the USSR Armed Forces.

The army must securely defend the socialist fatherland. And for carrying out this high goal it has the right to demand from society a contingent meeting the requirements of military service.

The reduced prestige of military service, the lower authority of military persons, the ill-defined future and the complexity of social and domestic questions repel young persons from deciding to become professional military. Timely in this regard are the words of the well-known French military theorist of the 19th Century, H. Jomini: "Woe to those nations in which the luxury of the tax farmer and the fat wallet of the stockbroker will be preferred to the uniform of a brave soidier who has devoted his life, his health or his property to defending the motherland!"

S.I. Syedin (doctor of psychological sciences, professor): Actually, the situation today is such that many young officers want to leave the army. What is the reason for this phenomenon? What are the basic motives for the departure of the officers from the Armed Forces? A sociological study conducted at the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin was devoted to answering these questions.

The research has shown that the sources for the rise of such a desire among the young officers is in the general

social instability existing in the nation. In society the prestige of military service has fallen. The number of requests for discharge has increased by more than 30-fold in comparison with the beginning of the 1980s. Basically, these are young officers with around 70 percent under the age of 25.

Unfortunately, a desire to be discharged is voiced largely by disciplined, diligent and enterprising officers. They comprise around 77 percent of all those submitting a request. Almost 90 percent of them completed military schools of grades of "good" and "excellent." Over 65 percent is communists and around 31 percent Komsomol members.

The mass information media, in speaking about the reduction in the Armed Forces, often do not emphasize that the problem of defending the nation has not lost its acuteness. This has formed among a certain portion of the officers a feeling of uncertainty and fear that in the near future they will be discharged from the Army and Navy under the cutbacks.

Also important in the reasons for the departure of the young officers are the social and domestic lack of amenities and dissatisfaction with their material situation. Over one-half has mentioned this.

A significant fact, in the opinion of the departing officers, is the impossibility of fully realizing their abilities. Many of them plan to do this under civilian conditions.

In my view, the necessity has long since risen of establishing a special service in our country which would be concerned with studying and analyzing public opinion about the Armed Forces and would carry out measures to support their authority. For example, such a service has long existed in the United States and its has proven fully effective.

Thus, an analysis of the sociological research made by the American legislators and mass information media has shown that it is possible to maintain in the nation a high moral-political mood and authority of the USSR Armed Forces.

Question: What prevents us from doing this?

S.I. Syedin: The success of the military reform will depend largely upon its focus on the military collectives. The bases of combat readiness and capability of the Armed Forces are formed precisely there.

The troop collectives are a particular type of collective. Their particular features directly influence the process of the adaptation of the draftees to military relations and hence the state of military discipline and law and order. This should be considered in working out and conducting the military reform and requires a sociological approach which presumes primarily the forming of a general plan of the military reform on a scientific basis and with reliance on sociological theory.

L.N. Panarin (student at the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin): At present, as never before, the army needs active, thinking individuals. Unfortunately, it must be stated things are not easy for precisely such servicemen. This can be seen from numerous articles in our press. Here is just one example.

The military psychologists S. Syedin and B. Khoziyev in the journal VOYENNY VESTNIK have written: "...In our troop practices it often happens that persons who are searching, enterprising and desirous of introducing something new encounter a mass of obstacles and are tripped up in bureaucratic red tape. An innovator is forced to break through a wall of indifference and laxity and defend his right to initiative" [6]. The paradox is that analogous words were voiced in 1908 by the colonel of the General Staff, D. Parskiy: "...Such qualities...as firmness of character and conviction, initiative are so not encouraged that the possessors of these are often considered as 'unsuitable' and 'anxious'" [7].

The equipping of the army with modern weaponry requires a broader manifestation of initiative. Particularly on the part of the officers. They need to have the ability independently to bring out, analyze and resolve complex problems in the training and education of the men. This should be aided by the military reform which should establish conditions so that each serviceman shows initiative. Such conditions primarily are the following:

- A moral rebirth of the army;
- Achieving the social protection of the servicemen;
- Excluding from troop activities all that does not relate to combat training;
- Improving the material situation of the servicemen;
- Strengthening the military and patriotic education among the nation's population.

The change in the views of man in the course of building a democratic, humane socialism also requires a revision of the views concerning the defender of the fatherland. The serviceman should become the central figure in the military reform.

Yu.I. Deryugin: In the course of the current conversation, various viewpoints have been heard on the problems of the military reform. This shows a pluralism of opinions and the constructive nature of the discussion.

I agree with the opinion of the comrades who feel that for the successful elaboration of a general plan of the military reform it is essential to have a number of sociological studies. But the opinion that scientific approaches to the given problem are lacking is wrong. For example, the draft of the military reform proposed by the serviceman group of USSR people's deputies is based upon profound scientific research, including sociological. The experience of military organizational development in many countries of the world was studied in working it out.

There is the acute question of the use of military force inside the nation. Actually, the necessity has matured of developing political mechanisms which would not allow a repetition of the lamentable experience of Tbilisi and Baku. As was rightly pointed out by a majority of speakers, the internal function of the USSR Armed Forces should be their role as a school of civics and physical conditioning.

There were various views on the changeover to the contract method of manning the Armed Forces. Undoubtedly this problem should be resolved step-by-step. We should proceed from the need of professionalizing the personnel.

We must also depoliticize the Armed Forces. Under the conditions of the multiparty system developing in the nation, to raise the question of maintaining the CPSU organizations in the Army and Navy would mean to put the other parties in knowingly unequal conditions.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that the positive significance of our discussion is that there was an exchange of opinions on all core questions involved in working out a general plan and carrying out a military reform in the nation.

The roundtable participants took up various problems of carrying out the military reform. Unfortunately, in a single article it is virtually impossible to present the entire discussion. The range of views among the sociologists was quite broad. There were even diametrically opposed ones.

Unfortunately, not all of the participants were able to set out their viewpoint in a well-argued and convincing manner or correctly approach an analysis of the discussed problems. But, in recognizing the objectively arising need to carry out a military reform in the nation, the participants in the discussion voiced a number of interesting proposals and scientific recommendations on its organization and implementation. The sooner this begins in a more organized manner the sooner the nation will receive the Army and Navy which are required at the present stage in the development of our society.

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Youth Confidential Telephone in the USSR

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[Article by Olga Yefimovna Vendrova, candidate of chemical sciences and co-worker at the Medical Youth Center of the Main Public Health Administration of the Moscow City Executive Committee. This is the first time she appears in our journal]

[Text] A service for emergency telephone aid to youth and juveniles was organized in 1988 in the USSR. This is a short period of time, in comparison with the experience of analogous services abroad. The Samaritans Society founded in England in 1953, an emergency telephone aid service, became the prototype of such centers subsequently organized throughout the world. At present, within the IFOTES (International Federation of Telephone Emergency Services) there are over 400 organizations in 23 countries.

The 20th Century has been marked by stormy historical events in the setting of which the problems of the individual person have retreated into the background. People are unable to adapt to those changes which they themselves make in the world. An important element in the self-awareness of modern man is the drama and tragedy of existence in a society which ignores such concepts as spirituality and morality.

The crisis of modern civilization is rooted, however, not in human nature itself, but rather is a consequence of the "profound discrepancy between the thinking and conduct of man, on the one hand, and the changing real world, on the other" [1]. Is it possible to overcome this tragic discrepancy? The question is a key one for philosophers, sociologists and futurologists. Hypotheses are proposed, general plans are constructed, and the spears are shattered of the supporters of various directions for the global development of mankind....

Unfortunately, here we often forget the concrete individual who is in a state of crisis, personal drama, spiritual collapse, we do not or cannot understand what he needs and help.

Precisely such understanding and help was what the first Samaritans had in mind, having begun their voluntary serving of the community. The results of this work were not long in coming and statistics shows a rapid spread in England of the local departments of the telephone aid service [hotline] coincided with a significant reduction in the number of suicides: thus, over the period from 1963 through 1970, this declined by 34 percent while at

the same time where there were no such services, it increased by an average of 20 percent [2].

The experience of the Samaritans is important not only as the first example of organizing a telephone hotline but also as a noble example of the selfless serving of people who can hear out another person and sincerely wish to share his grief and become a friend (befriending, a term first used precisely among the Samaritans). According to the statute of the IFOTES, these are volunteer nonprofessionals who have been specially selected from a large number of persons so desiring and who have been trained in accord with the special demands. Many psychologists, physicians and pedagogues have been involved in this work. The experience gained by the Samaritans is difficult to overestimate.

In contrast to that adopted in world practice, the hotline service in the USSR was organized in 1980 as part of the public health system under the psychoneurological facilities. The activities of such centers were aimed at psychoprophylaxis and psychotherapy of suicidal states and encompassed basically the adult portion of the population [3, 4].

The necessity of establishing a separate hotline for the youth (initially called the Confidential Telephone Line for Juveniles) was dictated both by the specific features of the juvenile age as well as by the processes occurring in recent years in our nation and aggravating the already difficult problems of the sociopsychological adaptation of the youth. Urbanization and family crisis, alienation and an acceleration in the pace of life, as well as the complex economic situation led to a rise in psychological stress throughout society, but these "risk factors" strike particularly painfully at the youth, among whom, in the absence of formed moral guidelines and the habits of psychological culture, the greatest danger is created for the rise of a pathogenic and criminogenic situation. In recent years, in the nation crime has become sharply "younger," there has been a rise in the number of psychosomatic and mental illnesses, suicides and suicide attempts among the youth. Numerous statements in the press, radio and television have been devoted to this question. It is easy to state the facts but it is significantly harder to prevent the factors causing them.

The mistrust of the youth for any sort of official organizations and initiatives "from above" and often adults generally has led either to a social passivity or a departure from real life or to confrontation and protest over their attitude toward the state and society as a whole. Under these difficult conditions, particular urgency is assumed by such a form of working with the youth and juveniles as a confidential service, where anonymity and absolute secrecy of the conversation make it possible not to extinguish the weak flame of hope in the souls of the young persons, to find dependable moral guidelines in life, to understand the reasons for the crisis and overcome it with the aid of a sincerely interested and understanding interlocutor. The task of the hotline consultant is to become for his interlocutor not only a

psychologist (or a psychotherapist) but also an authoritative educator and an elder friend. All of this places special demands upon the selection and training of personnel for work in our service which should not be turned either into something like a telephone psychiatric first aid service or, on the contrary, into a society of well-wishers armed solely with "good intentions."

The first results of the Youth Confidential Telephone (MTD) show that in addition to its main function, it also serves as an accurate barometer of moods, conflict situations and "hotspots" among the youth and makes it possible to disclose pertinent trends in the development of the youth subculture.

With what did the interlocutors turn to us?

The basic reasons for appeals for help can be brought together into the following groups:

1. Relations with contemporaries (approximately 30 percent of the total number of calls). In this group are questions "about love and friendship," the problems of acquaintanceship with a young man (young girl), relations with a group of contemporaries, a friend (girlfriend) in a school class, a courtyard gang and so forth. Often the juveniles who are not satisfied with the level of their emotional relations with contemporaries or unable to establish such relations avoid the solving of the problem, in creating for themselves an "idol" from the popular actors, stage stars, athletes and so forth. Gravitating to an ideal is a characteristic and undoubtedly positive trait of young age. But when this desire begins to cut off all other interests, the juvenile becomes "fixated" on the image of his idol and can think of nothing more except how and where to see him, how to approach him and so forth. Most often such questions are asked by girls from 13 to 16 years of age. Here it is a matter of an inadequate mind set and from which the young person himself suffers most, and in this instance it is essential to have delicate psychocorrective work by the consultant of the hotline so that "having reached the heavens you don't crash."

2. Relations with adults or conflicts with parents and other relatives, with teachers and mentors (approximately 20 percent of the total number of calls). Here also are the calls from parents, teachers and other adults over their relations with juvenile children, their instruction, choice of profession, friends and so forth. We would point out that the dividing into groups is rather conditional. Thus, in analyzing the situation of the second group of calls, the problems of the first group often emerge in the forefront. For example, frequent conflicts with parents over the question of the late return home of a juvenile are directly related to his desire to be in touch with a group of contemporaries at too late a time, in the opinion of the parents. At the same time, this desire expresses the need of the juvenile for independence, self-affirmation "at whatever the cost," without considering the desires and demands of other family members;

this can show not only difficulties of interpersonal contact in the family but also problems of inner personality development (see the third group of calls).

3. The problems of the internal personal development of the juveniles and youth, deviations in their psychophysiological development, difficulties in socialization in society, loneliness, the search for the "meaning of life," as well as religious and philosophical searches.

Here we would also put the questions related to the choice of a future profession, since the basic contingent of our callers was schoolchildren in grades 8-10, students of the PTU [vocational-technical school], technical schools and other specialized secondary institutions of learning for whom the driving motive was the choice and obtaining of knowledge for a future profession. Ever-greater importance was also assumed by labor motives directly as a supplement to educational activity (in schoolchildren) or as the main type of activity (for working youth). The young men were seriously concerned for their future specialty, but could not always objectively assess their abilities and personality characteristics, and sometimes did not want to do this (for example, listen to the advice of parents, teachers or other adults). The warm and confidential atmosphere of the conversation and its intimate nature made it possible for the person on duty on the hotline to become for the juvenile a "crucial adult" who is so necessary precisely in the transitional age. The anonymity of the conversation helps the interlocutor to reveal himself and this provides an opportunity even in the first stages of telephone contact to carry out "primary vocational guidance" certainly with his approval.

The calls from the three groups comprise a small portion of the primary¹ calls (5-7 percent of the total number). However, it must be considered that often a serious problem is concealed behind the external, situational pretext.

For example, behind the question which is very popular among the young people "How can I get to know a young boy (young girl) I like?" (clearly from the first group of calls), there can stand the problems of psychophysiological immaturity, an inferiority complex involving deviation in the sexual sphere, psychic traumas suffered in childhood, social disadaptation, that is, questions in the third group.

Often the juveniles are unable to formulate the real problem behind the call, and they complain to the hotline operator of boredom, sadness, poor mood and so forth. For this reason, it is very important for the consultant to be able to detect in the caller's problem not only the external, situational level but also the profound internal personal one.

One of the indications of a balanced (normal) personality is the following: an average (in the statistical sense) personality; a personality which has adapted and behaves within the confines of the established social criteria; an integrated personality, that is, one where "all

elements function in coordination with the others" [5]. However, the concept of the norm does not describe all the diversity of actual psychic life, particularly when it is a matter of a growing person, a juvenile.

We have not yet created a true theory of personality making it possible to explain both the instances of normal development leading in the future to a harmonious and full revealing of the personality as well as the anomalies of this development. The existing theoretical approaches to this problem [6, 7] do not provide a persuasive answer, in referring either to an expressed pathology (if it is not sick then it is healthy), or to statistics (if it is "like everything else" then it is normal), or to adaptive properties (it is normal if it is well adapted), or to the demands of culture (it is normal if all the prescripts of culture are carried out), or to the ideal outstanding images (the health of a personality as the characteristics of the perfect, creative representatives of mankind) and so forth.

In practice, in a conversation with a juvenile who has called with his own concrete internal personal problem, one must solve the problem each time anew, precisely for the given caller, considering the general psychophysiological patterns but in no instance remaining fixed in them.

We put into a separate group the calls involving suicidal intentions or attempts. Although these make up less than 2 percent of the total number of calls, in their importance they are in one of the first places in the work of the emergency sociopsychological and psychotherapeutic aid service. It is worthy of note that the suicidal intentions of our callers most often involve not the loss of a close person, family conflicts or an incurable illness, as is known from the experience of the "adult" hotline services [3, 4]. Suicidal conflict situations for juveniles can arise out of what in the opinion of adults would be insignificant problems.² However, maximalism in judgments, the lack of experience in life and the inability to foresee the consequences of their actions create the sensation of hopelessness, the irresolvability of the conflict and give rise to desperation. If one takes into account the specific psychophysiological features of the transitional age, then one must consider as valid the opinion of specialists in suicide prevention on the conditional nature of dividing suicidal behavior in children and juveniles into true and feigned [8].

The main task of the MTD consultant in this instance is the early diagnosis of suicidal behavior in the caller, the elucidating of his personality qualities which would contribute to such behavior and the use of adequate rehabilitation and preventive measures.

4. Informative questions. A significant of calls (15 percent) is comprised of purely informative ones, when the juvenile or his parents request an explanation on a specific question (legal, administrative, job placement). Also in this group one could put the questions of the

organizing of leisure (about circles, interest clubs, various amateur associations, sports groups and so forth).

5. The next group is the calls involving the overcoming of harmful habits such as smoking, the abuse of alcohol, narcotic and various toxic substances (approximately 5-8 percent). In terms of their content these calls are closest to group three. However, they often also involve problems of interpersonal interaction, since in the referent group of contemporaries the juvenile begins acquaintanceship with tobacco, alcohol and drugs [9, 10]. According to the data of specialists, the critical period in becoming used to alcohol, drug addiction and toxic substance abuse is precisely the juvenile age [7]. It is essential to promptly inform the juvenile of their lethality, harm to health and so forth, but true psychological immunity to drunkenness, alcoholism and drug addiction is achieved by an active position in life, significant prospects and ideals, on the one hand, and the adequate methods of realizing them, on the other.

6. A large group of calls (approximately 20 percent) involved sexual problems, various deviations in sexual relations and so forth. Here also we would put early (under the age of 18) pregnancy.

In these instances, the MTD consultant, in addition to establishing a general atmosphere of emotional acceptance and psychological support for the caller, the MTD consultant must have a knowledge of the bases of sexology for a confidential and qualified conversation on the mental health of an intimate life, the basic means of contraception, the prevention of illnesses and so forth. The MTD consultant provides information on sexological and dermato-venereological aid stations where specialists can provide skilled examination and treatment, possibly, anonymous.

The problems of early pregnancy are typical for the MTD. The main task of the consultant is to prevent the girl who has suffered the misfortune from making a rash and incorrect step, to prepare her psychologically for an independent decision on her own fate and when necessary invite her (alone or with parents) for a consultation with a psychologist, gynecologist and other specialists.

In the last seventh group of calls (approximately 3 percent) we would put playing or calls of the sort "I had nothing to do so I decided to call you," "Do you want to listen to some music?" and so forth. Sometimes, the jokers are invited to discuss their existing problems, but the very form of a game can be a "screen" for solving serious problems of both an interpersonal and internal personal sort.

We would point out that there are "seasonal peaks" in the calls to the MTD and these are caused by the operating periodicity of such social institutions as the school, army and so forth. For example, with the onset of school vacations there is a sharp rise in the number of calls in group 4 involving the organizing of leisure time for the juveniles while questions of school grades and conflicts with the teacher are virtually absent.

In conclusion, we would like to take up the effectiveness of the work done by the MTD. The problem of evaluating the effectiveness is one of the most complicated, since no provision is made for feedback with the caller under the conditions of the service's activities and the number of constant callers can scarcely be viewed as an indicator of the results of our work.

We have established two criteria for assessing the effectiveness of the telephone aid:

1) Objective in the form of the degree of covering those requiring emergency sociopsychological or psychotherapeutic aid and this depends upon the availability of skilled personnel, the technical capability for around-the-clock operation, offices as well as the organizing of advertising.

2) Subjective in the form of an assessment of the result of the conversation by the caller, by the consultant himself or by one or several skilled specialists from the MTD service. The existing principles for the operation of IFOTES help in qualitatively assessing the aid provided. A major role is given to intuition, to what makes the work of the hotline consultant creative, more an art than a science. Precisely such an approach provides an opportunity to delve deeply into the inner world of the young person who turns to us for help.

Footnotes

1. We call the primary call the first one from a given caller; in the course of the operation of the service there has been a tendency for a "build-up" of the MTD with permanent callers.

2. We are speaking about an inadequate (affective) reaction of a normal juvenile and are not examining instances of psychic anomalies which lead to suicidal behavior, although such calls do occur.

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Employee Typology: Management Questions

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[Article by Svetlana Aleksandrovna Naumova, candidate of economic sciences, senior instructor on the Philosophy Chair of Tomsk Polytechnical Institute. This is the first time she appears in our journal.]

[Text] The motives for labor hold a particular place in labor consciousness. They are they connecting link through which all management actions, objective conditions of life and the diverse needs of the employee are embodied in his activities. The motives reflect the sense and motivating force of labor activity.

The aim of the current article is to describe a method of construction and the results of employing one of the typologies of labor motivation. The work was carried out within the context of the all-Union research done by the Labor Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] [1].

There is a multiplicity of labor motivation typologies. Each of these helps solve a limited range of management problems. The proposed typology discloses the degree of development of labor motivation within the context of the set composition of motives differentiated by their importance and degree of development. The designated measure reflects the composition, diversity, richness (the qualitative specific features of incentives) and the degree of manifesting the motives (the specific quantitative

aspect). Such a typology makes it possible to do the following: to determine the coordinates for the position of the labor principal (the individual or community) in space between the wealth of strong incentives for labor and apathy, indifference and a desire to satisfy needs by nonlabor methods of acquiring goods; to assess the state of the labor management system from the viewpoint of its influence on the degree of development of labor motivation and make the appropriate adjustments.

Let us turn to the initial groups of motives with combinations of these representing types of motivation in the given typology. The interpretation of their importance reflects the position of the author and this can be recognized or rejected according to the results of the actual employment of the methods.

The degree of the development of the incentive force for labor is felt primarily in to what degree labor is recognized as a value in itself, as a good. The motives for the value of labor in itself are opposed by the desire for labor as a means for acquiring nonlabor goods or the absence of such positive motives. In considering the possible combinations of the motives of labor as a value in itself and as a means, we obtain four types which are well known to the researchers: 1) the motives for the value of labor itself and the motives for labor as a means are harmoniously developed; 2) the motives for the value of labor itself are developed; 3) the motives for labor as a means of acquiring nonlabor goods are developed; 4) motives of achievement are not developed. Their placement corresponds to a diminishing order of the degree of developing motivation according to the composition of incentives. The first, most developed type combines all the initial diversity of motives: having become a value of itself, labor has not lost its significance as a means of acquiring diverse goods. The desire for labor exclusively as the goal, like a strictly consumer attitude toward it is a manifestation of the one-sided development of labor motivation. The plodder from the antiutopian Orwell's "Animal Farm" is a persuasive illustration of the harm done by the aspirations of a self-destructive industrious personality. But the image of the moonlighter ["shabashnik"] is not the limit of diversity in incentives for labor. The first of these types can be considered among the greater degree of motivational

development, as it is a question of the incentive force of labor and not one of those goods which can be acquired through labor.

The initial quartet of types is a compact one but is also rather operational for application to management practices. There must be the following step of isolating the two component initial groups of incentive.

In the incentives for labor, like the value itself, the most abstract components are the desire for labor as an attractive process (below, the process motive) and the desire for personally and socially useful results of labor (below: the product motive). How do these motives correlate to the degree of development of motivation? The most developed type combines both components. The desire for labor, as for a game, with an indifference to the utility of its product or, on the contrary, a focusing on the product with an indifference to the content of the labor process are one-sided types of motivation. With other conditions being equal, the desire for a socially and personally significant product can be considered in the more developed motives, as the product motive "picks up" the labor process and requires a straining of will, force and ability.

The labor motives as means for acquiring goods include two groups of incentives: for material and moral remuneration. With other conditions being equal, the more harmonious motivation includes both components and the less harmonious one of them.

The four initial features for constructing the types (the presence of the labor process and product motives, material and moral remuneration) provide 16 types of motivation shown in Table 1. The more developed typologies are not so operational as they lead to a situation where the forest cannot be seen for the trees. For example, the labor process can be broken down into a subject-subject and subject-object interaction having motivational significance (work on new equipment, as a rule, is more attractive than on old and so forth). With an increase in the number of constructing features, the typology becomes excessively large. Such fractioning is advisable for interpreting the causes and factors for forming the traced structure of types. At the same time, in the questionnaires and tests disclosing the degree of development of labor motivation, each group of motives should be represented by several concretized incentives [1].

Table 1: Types of Labor Motivation

Degree of Development of Motivation	Types of Combining Strong Motive Groups	Name of Types
All groups of motives developed	Labor process and product motives combined with motives of material and moral remuneration	Harmonious
Motives of value of labor itself developed. Motives of labor as means not developed or included	Labor process and product motives combined with motives of material remuneration	Masters
	Labor process and product motives combined with motives of moral incentive	Enthusiast
	Labor process and product motives	Creators
Motives of value of labor itself developed one-sidedly. Motives of labor as means complete	Labor product motives combined with motives of material and moral remuneration	Pragmatists
	Labor process motives combined with motives of material and moral remuneration	Hedonists

Table 1: Types of Labor Motivation (Continued)

Motives of value of labor itself and labor as a means developed one-sidedly. Labor product significant	Labor product motives combined with motives of material remuneration	Professionals
	Labor product motives combined with motives of moral remuneration	Shockworkers
Motives of value of labor itself and labor as means developed one-sidedly. Labor process significant	Labor process motives combined with motives of material remuneration	Snobs
	Labor process motives combined with motives of moral remuneration	Romantics
Motives of value of labor itself one-sided. Motives of labor as means not developed	Labor product motives	Plodders
	Labor process motives	Gamblers
Motives of labor as means developed. Motives of value of labor itself not developed	Motives of material and moral remuneration	Consumers
	Motives of material remuneration	Moonlighters
	Motives of moral remuneration	Sybantes
No group of motives developed	Strong motives missing	Robots

As was pointed out, the degree of the development of motivation is characterized not only by the composition and diversity but also by the strength of the motives. Up to now it has been a question of their composition. In the development of each group it is possible to isolate a multiplicity of levels and this would make the typology more flexible but also uncontrollable. For this reason, in constructing the types we have considered only two gradations: strong and weak motives. The type of employee (Table 1) was determined by combining the strong groups of motives.

The proposed scheme can be used in constructing typologies using different indicators in the motivational sphere when the structure of the latter is complex and cannot be disclosed sufficiently completely by one of them. Below it will be a question of two sections of motivation: aspiration-ideals and now aspirations.

The aspiration-ideals or value guidelines are incentives which go beyond the limits of the actual working conditions and are formed by all experience in life of the employee and by purposeful ideological action from without, that is, these are the standards or ideals of labor. The type of aspiration-ideals indicates the direction in which the employee is inclined to change his actual incentives and characterizes the potential of motivation. The now aspirations (actual demands, reactive incentives) are aspirations dictated by a specific situation, by the conditions of life and labor. Let us emphasize that in isolating the type of the various elements in the motivational sphere, it is impossible to uniformly define the type of behavior which is derivative of numerous factors: value orientations, now aspirations, the available means for achieving them and so forth. These are interrelated but different tasks. For assessing the effectiveness of the management system and for forecasting the dynamics of motivation and labor behavior it is essential to have an analysis of the types of aspiration-ideals, the actual demands and real conduct, that is, the methods and results of labor.

The typology was tested out at the industrial enterprises of Tomsk in 1989-1990. Let us turn to the results obtained in

1990 at one of the plants. The disclosed dependences are close to typical, since a comparison of the initial information on the basis of which the calculations were made with analogous data from other regions did not disclose any significant discrepancies. As for the enterprise under discussion here, the labor collective was organized there not long ago from employees coming from different regions of the nation and the number of employees is small with a little more than 300 persons (144 were questioned), and for many the leading motive in moving to the new place was the obtaining of an apartment; the style of management was rigidly authoritarian.

Table 2: Structure of Types of "Aspiration-Ideals" (Proportional Amount, % of Number Questioned)*

Types	Entire Sample	Leaders (Minus Management)	Specialists	Workers
Harmonious	26.4	12.8	42.8	29.0
Masters	23.6	10.6	10.7	37.7
Enthusiasts	2.8	8.5	—	—
Creators	5.6	17.0	—	—
Pragmatists	—	—	—	—
Hedonists	4.2	4.3	7.2	2.9
Professionals	0.7	—	—	1.5
Shockworkers	—	—	—	—
Snobs	10.4	8.5	7.2	13.0
Romantics	2.8	6.4	—	1.5
Plodders	—	—	—	—
Gamblers	9.6	17.0	14.3	2.9
Consumers	—	—	—	—
Moonlighters	5.6	4.3	39.6	4.3
Sybantes	0.7	2.1	—	—
Robots	7.6	8.5	1.2	2.2

* The average statistical type for the entire sample (144 persons) and for each category of personnel was "master."

Table 3: Structure of Types of "Now Aspirations" (Proportional Amount, % of Number Questioned)*

Types	Entire sample	Leaders (Minus Management)	Specialists	Workers	Change in Proportional Amount of Type in Moving From "Aspiration-Ideals" to "Now Aspirations" (for the Entire Sample)
Harmonious	5.5	4.3	3.6	7.3	-20.8
Masters	11.7	6.4	3.6	18.8	-11.8
Enthusiasts	1.4	2.1	3.6	—	+1.4
Creators	2.8	4.3	—	2.9	-2.8
Pragmatists	2.8	4.3	3.6	1.5	+2.8
Hedonists	2.1	2.1	7.2	—	-2.1
Professionals	—	2.1	3.6	2.9	+2.1
Shockworkers	—	—	—	—	—
Snobs	17.4	12.7	25.0	17.5	+7.0
Romantics	1.4	4.3	—	—	-1.4
Plodders	—	—	—	—	—
Gamblers	13.2	14.9	14.2	11.6	+3.5
Consumers	1.4	4.3	—	—	+1.4
Moonlighters	19.4	12.7	17.8	24.6	+13.8
Sehantes	—	—	—	—	-0.7
Robots	18.1	25.5	17.8	13.0	+10.5

* The average statistical type for the entire sample (144 persons) and for each category of personnel was "snob".

Table 4: Result of Types of "Actual Aspirations" (Average Arithmetic Estimates by Types, Higher—1, Lower—3)

Types	Number of Types	Entire Sample	Leaders (Without Management)	Specialists	Workers
Gamblers	19	1.62	1.54	1.55	1.73
Robots	27	1.75	1.72	1.72	1.81
Snobs	25	1.83	1.71	1.91	1.83
Moonlighters	28	1.83	1.82	1.76	1.86
Masters	16	1.89	2.10	1.30	1.83
Harmonious	8	1.95	1.70	1.50	2.10

* Included are types the number of which is over five persons for the entire sample (144 persons).

The structure of the types of now aspirations and aspiration-ideals (shown in Tables 2 and 3) and the results of the types of actual aspirations are given in Table 4. The obtained information makes it possible to draw the following conclusions:

1) The degree of developing actual labor aspirations within the set composition of motives gravitates not toward the upper limit out to the lower as the average statistical employee type ("snob") holds fifth place out of the conditional eight and it combines in itself a desire for an interesting and well-paid job with indifference to the utility of the labor product and to moral remuneration; the most numerous employee types ("moonlighters" and "robots" with 19.4 percent and 18.1 percent, respectively) belong in the lower gradations of motives hierarchy; a harmonious type of aspiration is collected only in 5.5 percent of the employees.

How can we explain the arising situation, is it possible and indeed advisable to change the measure of development of actual incentives for labor? Further analysis makes it possible to answer these questions.

2) If we correlate the degree of development of actual aspirations not with an abstract limit of 100-percent harmoniousness but rather with the already formed value orientations of the employees, it becomes clear that the now aspirations are far from the ideals, and the management system makes little use of the value potential of the employees. The most numerous types of aspirations-ideals ("harmonious" and "master") must be considered in the higher gradations of the wealth of motives but in moving to the now aspirations it is precisely these types that are most diffuse and, on the contrary, the maximum number of supporters is gained by the less developed types such as "moonlighters" and "robots" (Table 3).

The reasons which "ground" the value potential at the designated enterprise are to be found in the existing management system (the hypertrophied role of material incentives, the authoritarian leadership style and so forth), in the primitive nature of the equipment and production methods, although national problems are also felt.

3. There are both common traits and particular features in the development and use of the motivational potential for the various categories of enterprise personnel. The average statistical type is the same for all categories both in terms of the value orientations and in terms of the actual aspirations and this bespeaks more fundamental factors in the shaping of motivation than does belonging to one or another group of enterprise employees. But here the structures of the types by categories have substantial differences.

Thus, the highest percentage of "robots" is to be found among the leaders (25.5 percent for the entire group, 16.4 percent among the shop and department chiefs), although on the level of aspiration-ideals this is 8.5 percent in this group. The higher demands, the difficulties in forming the collective and the authoritarian management style have brought about the degradation of representatives in the given group in realizing the ideals of labor, turning them into "robots." The highest percentage in the number of the latter ["robots"] in moving from value orientations to actual demands is observed precisely here and the smallest number among the workers. The management system strikes harder at the skilled employees and the higher their status the greater the apathy to labor.

The most numerous types of actual aspirations are the same for all categories ("robots," "gamblers," "moonlighters" and "snobs"). Among the workers, in addition, there are numerous "masters." Precisely these types determine the labor relations in the collective and the incentive tactics should be oriented at them.

The most numerous types of value orientations common to all the groups are the "harmonious" and "master." This must be taken into account in creating the long-range collective development plans, in choosing a common incentive strategy. But there are also differences: only among the leaders are there many "creators," only among the specialists are there many "moonlighters" and only among the workers are there many "snobs." This determines the specific strategy in encouraging the various personnel categories.

The most diverse types (13) of "now aspirations" are found among the leaders and the least (9) among the workers, although the number of the latter is much higher.

4. It would be incorrect to absolutize material remuneration or the economic aspirations of the employees. In actuality, the respondents who are interested exclusively in material remuneration comprise the largest group, however, this is only one-fifth (19.4 percent) of those questioned (12.8 percent among the leaders, 17.9 percent

among the specialists and 24.6 percent among the workers). In a majority strong economic motives are combined with ethical, community and other motives.

5. The need for labor is manifested in the desire for an interesting job, and the need for the fruits of labor is clearly demonstrated. The "shockworkers" and "plodders" have disappeared while the "enthusiasts" and "creators," the "pragmatists" and "professionals" are on the brink of disappearing. The further development of the need for labor as an attractive but irresponsible process cannot overcome the negative phenomena in the labor sphere and leads into the blind alley of sterile labor hedonism.

6. The most effective, in the estimates of fellow workers, are the "gamblers" and "moonlighters" - the persons who endeavor exclusively to realize a material goal (labor process, in disregarding the interests of the collective and remuneration) and who are not subject to the law mechanically without having any sense or respect for it. This is natural as the enterprise which is in the stage of formation cannot provide a more socially useful product, opportunities for professional development and improving skills and status for its workers. The leaders and specialists by the authoritarian administration and for the workers by the rigid demands of observing production discipline under the conditions of heightened danger and the continuous production cycle in a number of subdivisions. Under those conditions the most effective are either those who have no other motives for labor or those who have no demands on other satisfactions except an aspiration for material wealth. The respondents who have maintained a "harmonious" attitude in labor have shown the lowest interest in the work. This is contradictory to the commonly held notion in the worker group that only the most effective (the small group of leaders and specialists, in other words the group "moonlighters") at all the enterprises in the country have the lowest assessments among the workers (see Table 1) - low results.

Gravitating to the leaders and specialists, an increase in their number is connected with the enterprise conditions when those not favored by the situation gravitate toward the outsiders (see Table 1). This is a distortion of the required type. The management system works those it needs, that is the "gamblers" and "moonlighters."

It can be assumed that the labor productivity cannot there exists a hierarchy of motivation types and that some not correspond to the theoretically constructed Table 1, since the measure of the degree of motivation needed objectively does not as a rule correspond to the "harmonious" type. At the same time, each labor management system, in setting the tasks of developing the individual potential of the employee and increasing the role of labor in satisfying his needs, should endeavor for the development of harmonious and strong motivation. The results of the survey make it possible to assume that the designated approach is working in the opposite direction.

The ideal guideline in developing the actual desires of the enterprise employees is the structure of types of value orientations as shown in Table 1. The ideal of a 100-percent harmoniousness is unattainable while movement toward the already existing aspiration ideals is completely feasible. At present, we can observe movement in opposite directions: the greatest gap in the value standards and "now aspirations" is among the most developed types which are now either leaving the enterprise or are being turned into "robots" and other less harmonious types.

These are the results of applying our typology to a situation at a specific enterprise.

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Residents of Homes for the Elderly (Sociological Portrait)

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Article by Semen Gershevich Reznikov, doctor of medical sciences, professor and chair head, and Aleksandr Gavrilovich Rozhkov, graduate student. The authors work on the Chair of Social Hygiene and the Organization of Public Health at the Omsk Medical Institute. This is the first time they appear in our journal.

[Text] Over the last decades, significant changes have occurred in the world in the population structure. This has been felt in an increase in the absolute and relative number of the elderly. Thus, in the USSR, the relative number of persons over the age of 60 is 13-14 percent [1].

The ratio of the age groups in the population structure, the designated trends of a decline in the birthrate and an increase in average life expectancy make it possible to assume that the ageing of the population will continue.

According to the forecasts, in the years 1990-2000, the share of elderly persons in the nations of Eastern Europe will increase and reach 17.6 percent in comparison with 13 percent at present [2]. Of particular importance are the statistical forecasts for the increase in the number of persons 80 years and older, in comparison with the population which has reached the age of 60.

In the homes for the elderly the number of persons 70-79 years of age is increasing, particularly from 80 years and over, while pensioners under the age of 70 are entering these institutions evermore rarely. This is related to the fact that due to the better material, housing and everyday conditions as well as the broadening of medical and

social aid to elderly persons on their own, there has been an increase in the number of elderly and old persons living independently.

The organization of medical and social services for the elderly is changing with an improvement in at-home services and the resettlement of elderly persons residing in towns and villages [3], while the homes for the elderly are being turned into hospital-type gerontological institutions.

For studying the state of health and way of life of elderly persons, we have worked out a research program and on the basis of this in 1989 we questioned 372 single elderly persons residing in general homes for the elderly in Omsk and Omsk Oblast (a random 30-percent sample) as well as the excerpting of data from the medical documentation. The questionnaire was made up of blocks which reflected the following questions: general information on the respondent, his material and domestic conditions, state of health, way of life and medical-social aid.

Among the respondents, 53.2 percent was 60-74 years of age, 41.9 percent was 75-89 years, 4.9 percent was 90 years and older. In the sample was 32.3 percent males and 67.7 percent females, and the basic mass was made up of males 60-74 years of age and females 75-89 years.

The educational level of the single elderly was low: 49.2 percent of the respondents had a primary education, 29.0 had an incomplete secondary, 10.5 percent a secondary, 9.7 percent a specialized secondary and only 1.6 percent had completed VUZes. Here the education of men residing in the homes was higher than for women.

As for social status, previously 69.4 percent had been workers, 22.6 percent had been white collar personnel, while the remainder were housewives, persons disabled since childhood and so forth. We investigated the family status of the respondents and the basic portion (66.1 percent) was widowed, 24.2 percent had been divorced and 9.7 percent had never been married.

Prior to entering the home, the duration of residing alone for the men had been significantly shorter than for women: respectively, 14.6 and 25.6 years. This shows that males are less adapted for residing alone and more often move into homes for the elderly.

Many respondents (37.1 percent) at the time of entering the home for the elderly had adult children (21.8 percent had one, 10.5 percent had two, 4.8 percent had three and more) and, nevertheless, were in a social welfare institution. Here the share of males without children and entering a home was significantly lower than the share of childless women (respectively 35.0 percent and 76.2 percent). Males with children almost 3-fold more often ended up being supported by the social welfare bodies. This can be explained by the fact that with the break-up of the parental family, the children remained more often with the mother. Often they condemned the fathers and did not maintain any contact with them subsequently. It

was no accident that 51.5 percent of the males and just 3.1 percent of the females viewed their relations with relatives and primarily with children as unsatisfactory, and 21.2 percent of the males and 63.1 percent of the females considered these relations good.

Among the most widespread reasons for entering the home for the elderly were: loneliness with 48.7 percent, unsatisfactory state of health with 30.0 percent, and a conflict situation in the family and the initiative of relatives 19.0 percent. The dependence of the reasons for entering the home for the elderly upon sex was not essential.

An elderly person entering a home falls into a difficult situation: on the one hand, there is the abrupt change in the surrounding situation and, on the other, the transition to a collective way of life, the necessity of following an established order and abandoning habits, the fear of losing independence [4]. This, in turn, exacerbates his unstable neuropsychic state and serves as a cause of depression, a lack of confidence in oneself and one's actions and tells negatively on the state of health [8]. Here of great importance are relations with relatives. Some 66.7 percent of the respondents with relatives and close friends maintain relations with them, some 64.6 percent visit the elderly and 13.1 percent speak with them by phone. One out of every three respondent himself visits relatives and one out of two receives material aid from them.

At the same time, 42.7 percent of those questioned experienced a lack of human contact, 33.5 percent did not maintain ties with relatives and close friends, 38.3 percent of the respondents stated that they did not require material aid from their relatives; some 48.8 percent considered contact to be the main thing in relations.

Of important significance for the social adaptation of the single elderly are the housing and service conditions, the attitude of medical personnel as well as psychological compatibility with persons sharing the room.

At the moment of the poll, 33.1 percent of the elderly were living alone in a room, 56.5 percent were two in a room and 12.1 percent were three in a room. A majority of those questioned (84.7 percent) viewed their residence as warm and light, 11.5 percent found it damp and cold, and 4.0 percent as dark. At the same time, 41.9 percent answered negatively to the question "Are you satisfied with your living conditions?" Among the main reasons for dissatisfaction were not enough room with 65.4 percent, psychological incompatibility with roommates for 51.9 percent, the need for repairs for 44.2 percent and the lack of amenities in the residence for 20.2 percent and so forth.

The organization of leisure is of great importance for the elderly and disabled. Some 89.5 percent of the respondents listen to the radio, 52.3 percent watched television, 42.9 percent went to the movies, lectures and concerts and 64.5 percent read newspapers and magazines. One

out of four used the services of a library and had hobbies, and one out of three observed religious rites and fasts.

The problems of smoking and alcohol use remain crucial in the home for the elderly. According to the results of the poll, there were no absolutely sober persons among the men and among women there were 45.2 percent; some 50.0 percent of the men and 47.6 percent of the women did not use alcoholic beverages but had done so previously, while 25.0 percent of the men and 9.2 percent of the women used alcohol once a month and more rarely. At the same time, 6.5 percent of the men consumed alcoholic beverages two or three times a month or more often. At the moment of the survey, 57.5 percent of the men and 7.2 percent of the women were smoking, some 30.0 percent of the men and 9.5 percent of the women did not smoke but had smoked previously while 12.5 percent of the men and 33.3 percent of the women had not smoked at all.

Many inhabitants of the home for the elderly were concerned about their health. Almost one-third of the respondents participated in physical exercises and 67.9 percent of these regularly. Most often those questioned preferred gymnastics with 54.8 percent, active walking with 8.1 percent, and various types of conditioning for 4.8 percent. Over half of those questioned (55.7 percent) each day walked in the fresh air, 22.5 percent did this two or three times a week, however 21.8 percent did not leave the limits of their room or were under bed care.

Important indicators for the state of health of older persons is the degree of mobility and the ability for taking care of oneself [6]. Motor activeness remained fully in one-third of those questioned and in 41.1 percent had been sharply reduced (moving about on the floor or within the room). Some 36.7 percent of the respondents took complete care of themselves, 53.1 percent did so partially while 30.2 percent required outside care.

We were also interested in how the respondents viewed the state of their health. Only 3.2 percent considered this good, 43.5 percent found it satisfactory and 53.3 unsatisfactory. Among the health problems the persons questioned most often mentioned poorer vision (94.4 percent), reduced motor activity (68.5 percent), impaired hearing (58.9 percent) as well as the need for dental prostheses (56.5 percent). Some 97.6 percent of the respondents had a chronic illness, some 40.0 percent of the men and 3.6 percent of the women mentioned the presence of injuries or concussions, and 29.0 percent mentioned one or another disability group.

As for medical aid, one-half of those questioned did not always go to a doctor in the event of an illness or an exacerbation of an illness, and 79.4 percent of the respondents were hoping that the illness would pass by itself, 47.6 percent themselves knew what ailed them, 36.5 percent were not satisfied with the assigning of the physician, 28.6 percent were not happy with his skills and 12.7 percent treated themselves with their own agents. Equally alarming is the fact that one out of three

residents in the home was involved in self-treatment, using home remedies as well as medicines upon the advice of relatives and acquaintances.

The state of medical and social aid along with the housing and domestic conditions were the crucial factors in satisfaction with the home for the elderly. Thus, 26.6 percent of the respondents was not satisfied with the living conditions and did not want to be in the home, some 19.4 percent of them preferred to live alone and 7.2 percent in the family of a son or daughter.

Along with improved housing and service conditions in the homes, it is essential to provide social and medical aid for the elderly at home. Of great importance is a broadening of the volume of social services provided by the home service departments at the homes, the development of a network of charitable dining rooms for the elderly and territorial medical-social centers with temporary and daytime care departments. Moreover, it is essential to carry out a number of measures on the state level with an improvement in housing conditions, an increased minimum pension, the production of comfortable and price-accessible clothing and footwear, broadening benefits in paying for utility services and so forth.

At the same time, it is essential to work out a program of aid for persons who take care of the elderly and disabled at home (provide leaves for the care-givers at a convenient time for them, placing the elderly in temporary care homes during the illness or leave of the care-giver and so forth).

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On the Count of the NKVD Special Contingent in the 1937 and 1939 All-Union Population Censuses

91SD0011F Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Feb 91 (signed to press 28 Dec 90) pp 74-75

[Article by Viktor Nikolayevich Zemskov, candidate of historical sciences and senior science associate at the Institute of USSR History of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Our journal has published his articles: "Special Settlers" (No 11, 1990) and "The Mass Release From Special Settlement and Exile in 1954-1960" (No 1, 1991)]

[Text] The journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (Nos 6-8, 1990) has published a series of articles by V.B. Zhiromskaya, Yu.A. Polyakov and I.N. Kiselev "A Half-Century of Silence: The 1937 All-Union Population Census." There is no need to speak about the exceptional value of this publication.

Most likely, the greatest difficulty which the authors of this work encountered was an elucidation of the question to what degree the prisoners and labor settlers were counted in the census. We possess information on their numbers at the beginning of 1937 and at the beginning of 1939, that is, at the time both all-Union population censuses were conducted (see the Table).

Table: Number of Prisoners and Labor Settlers (as of 1 January 1937 and 1 January 1949) [1]

Location	1937		1939	
	Persons	in %	Persons	in %
In camps	820,881	30.9	1,317,195	44.6
In colonies	375,488	14.2	355,243	12.0
In prisons*	545,000	20.5	350,538	11.8
In labor settlement	916,787	34.4	938,552	31.6
TOTAL	2,658,156	100	2,961,528	100

*Data for persons in prison on 1 February 1937 and 10 January 1939.

The authors had data on the total number of the special contingent in groups B and C covered by both censuses: in 1937, 2,389,570, and in 1939, 3,155,965 persons. In attempting to break down the C contingent, the authors used the 1939 instructions which took into account all persons imprisoned in camps, colonies and prison as well as the labor settlers living in the zone and in the labor settlements of the GULAG [State Administration for

Corrective Labor Camps] of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]. It was assumed that analogous instructions were in effect in 1937 (this is completely probable). From the calculations of the authors it turns out that on 6 January 1937, in the places of incarceration and in the labor settlements there were at least 1.8 million persons counted for under the census as the special contingent of the C group, while on 21 February 1939 (at the moment of carrying out the special census) there were at least 2.6 million. The authors give the lower, in their estimate, limit for the number of the C group within the special contingent of the B and C groups. As a result, for them the ratio between the B and C groups was 24.7 percent and 75.3 percent (according to the 1937 Census) and 17.6 percent and 82.4 percent (according to the 1939 Census).

We propose that in fact the proportional amount of the C group was significantly higher. According to the data on 1 March 1940, for the 1,668,200 prisoners kept in the GULAG camps and colonies, there were around 107,000 security persons (including around 12,000 security riflemen chosen from among the prison trustees) [2], that is, the ratios between the B and C groups would be 6 percent and 94 percent. It must be assumed that at the moment of conducting the 1937 and 1939 Censuses, this ratio was approximately the same. In truth, prior to 1940, the number of guards from among the very prisoners in the GULAG camps and colonies was higher (in January 1939, around 25,000 persons) [3].

While the authors of the article "A Half-Century of Silence" in breaking out the C group as part of the special contingent of the B and C groups used the lower limit (75-82 percent) as the base, we will endeavor to take as the base the upper limit (94 percent) proposed by us. Then it turns out that according to the 1937 Census, over 2.2 million persons were counted in the C group while according to the 1939 Census, virtually all the then present prisoners and labor settlers.

According to the 1937 Census, they clearly did not consider as the NKVD special contingent several hundred thousand labor settlers (from 400,000 according to our estimates to 800,000, if one employs the calculation methods of the authors of the "Half-Century of Silence"). The prisoners undoubtedly were all considered as the NKVD special contingent. One of the main reasons for the incomplete incorporation of the special settlers in the NKVD special contingent in holding the census in January 1937 was, in our view, that during all the 1930s it was precisely at this time that there was a peak in the liberalizing of conditions in labor exile. In accord with the USSR Constitution adopted on 5 December 1936, the labor settlers were declared to be citizens with full rights and, naturally, significant numbers of them in the soon following population census were counted as ordinary free persons. Subsequently, there began a new wave of "tightening the screws," conditions were toughened and control strengthened over the labor settlers on the part of the NKVD bodies.

As a result, according to the 1939 Census, they were almost completely counted as the NKVD special contingent.

As a whole, the data from the 1937 and 1939 Population Censuses and the current reporting of the GULAG of the USSR NKVD, the Department of Labor Settlements of the GULAG of the USSR NKVD and the Prison Administration of the USSR NKVD show a great similarity and the encountered discrepancies are easily explainable and can be reciprocally adjusted.

Footnotes

1. Central State Archives of the October Revolution, the Superior State Bodies and the USSR Bodies of State Administration. Collection of Documents.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

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Articles Not Translated

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